



FIG. 56. The ruins of the Church of St. John in Ephesus and in the background the hill of Ayasoluk with the Byzantine citadel.

CHAPTER 14

THE TWO MODELS OF THE EARLY BYZANTINE CITY

*One can say of cities, 'Tell me how their space is distributed and I will tell you who governs or owns them'.*²⁴⁷⁷

By the end of the sixth century, two models of city had developed in the Byzantine empire. One was formed in the course of the early Byzantine period through a process of the evolution of the ancient city within the new socio-economic and political circumstances and a new cultural environment. The other model constituted a new form of city, created on the initiative of the state or of local communities in response to the invasions. The form of both, however, crystallized over the sixth century. The first model belonged to the past, although it continued to evolve in the early Byzantine period, albeit profoundly transformed, reaching the seventh century as a relic of antiquity still surviving in the early Middle Ages. It was shaped by demographic, socio-economic and cultural dynamics, which altered the cities' ancient physical appearance. The forces informing the new model of the city were different and primarily military and Christian, which led to an emphasis on fortifications, naturally defensible locations and churches, and thus to an urban legacy quite different from that bequeathed by the earlier model.²⁴⁷⁸

The twilight of the ancient city

Earlier, in particular in Parts III and IV of this book, we described in detail the transformation of ancient civic space from the fourth century onwards and its final form at the end of the early Byzantine period. Civic centres had ceased to be used as administrative and social centres for urban communities. The commercial centre of major cities had long been dissociated from the administrative centre and transferred to other parts of the city. In early Byzantine cities, markets were located along the streets, a Hellenistic and Roman urban arrangement, and a Roman type of market, the *macellum*, continued to function. At the same time, new markets developed around churches. The concentration of pagan monuments, heroa and temples were tied to the cities' ancient tradition and pagan religion, and the decline in autonomous civic administration made the forum/agora obsolete. Buildings serving the administration were abandoned or were taken over by powerful individuals or persons of the lower classes, being sold or leased for other uses. They were subdivided and used for industrial and artisan activities.

²⁴⁷⁷ L. Martines, *Power and Imagination. City-States in Renaissance Italy* (New York 1979), 241.
²⁴⁷⁸ See recently Zanini, *The Urban Ideal*.

ticularly since the establishment of industries producing smoke and odour in city centres and in residential quarters has been considered as evidence for the degradation of urban life. Such installations, however, were occasionally found in earlier cities. Inside Hellenistic cities, for example, dye industries could be found.²⁴⁸⁷ In Tyre the odours produced by the purple workshops made residence in the city extremely unpleasant (ὀσέουσι τοῖς οἴκοις).²⁴⁸⁸ In contrast, in Antioch, the fullers' district was on the other side of the river, in the suburbs, to keep away the odours produced by the industry from residential areas.²⁴⁸⁹

According to Roman law, however, such industries had to be established outside of the urban centres and at a certain distance from the houses. Nevertheless, the indications are that laws protecting city inhabitants from the effects of industry were no longer adhered to. Julian of Ascalon indicates that in his time these regulations were not absolutely obeyed. The old installations are not to be expelled, and the law is to apply only to the new ones.²⁴⁹⁰ In the literary sources and the archaeological record, glass workshops, foundries and smiths are attested in residential areas.²⁴⁹¹ Pottery and tile production constitute a different case, however, in that the nature of the industry demanded that kilns be established where clay was available on the site, but outside cities. Julian of Ascalon in *caput* 3 mentions the existence of pottery ovens only in villages. Many settlements with pottery ovens producing the famous Gaza amphorae are found between Gaza and Ascalon north of the city and in the surrounding area. In Eleutherna in Crete the potters' quarter is located a few km outside the city, where the odours produced would have been blown away by winds from the sea. About thirty pottery workshops were located near Alexandria, many of which are found along the shore of Lake Mareotis.²⁴⁹² In Delphi in the late fourth century potters were established in the area of the gymnasium, where they could use water from the Castalia spring. Their location on the periphery of the settlement conforms to the rules of ancient urbanism.²⁴⁹³ A striking parallel is afforded by the agora of Thessalonica, where kilns were built as early as the fifth century, when the site lost its civic functions, to extract the fine quality clay.²⁴⁹⁴ Because of the nature of this industry, traditionally appropriate for suburbs and rural areas, pottery kilns found inside urban space in the early Byzantine period gave cities an air of rusticity. Potters established in urban sites continue to remain at the bottom of the social scale, as they did in the village and urban suburbs.²⁴⁹⁵ Likewise, kilns for brick production were usually, but not always, located outside communities. Now, however, they appear in central urban space.²⁴⁹⁶ When the invasions strike, ovens for cooking and for

²⁴⁸⁷ L. C. Bowkett, *The Hellenistic Dye-works. Will Built Mycenae. The Hellenistic Excavations within the citadel at Mycenae, 1959-1969*, Fasc. 36 (Oxford 1995); P. Faklaris and V. Stamatopoulos, Βεργίνα, *Ανασκαφή ασκήσεων*, 1997; *Υπερνοσηρία και βασιλεία*, AEMT 11 (1997), 121-125.

²⁴⁸⁸ Strabo XVI.2.23.

²⁴⁸⁹ D. Feisel, Deux listes de quartiers d'Antioche atteints au creusement d'un canal (73-74 après J.-C.), *Syria* 62 (1985), 77-103.

²⁴⁹⁰ Saliva, *Les lois*, 268-270; Julian of Ascalon, 94-98, 130-131 and n. 365.

²⁴⁹¹ L. E. Stager, Ashkelon: Wine Exportation of the Holy Land, *JA* 97 (1993), 334; Y. Israel, Survey of Pottery Workshops, Nahal Lakhish-Nahal Besor, *ESI* 13 (1993), 106-107; Ph. Gouss and Ch. Vogt, Quarries and Potters in Ancient Eleutherna, in P. G. Themelis (ed.), *Πορτοφύλακας Ελεούθρα*, 12 (Rethymno 2000), 2002-2003; J.-Y. Empereur and M. Picon, Les ateliers d'amphores du Lac Mariout, in J.-Y. Empereur, (ed.), *Commerce et artisanat dans l'Alexandrie hellénistique et romaine. Actes du Colloque d'Albanet organisé par le CNRS, le Laboratoire de céramologie de Lyon et l'École française d'Athènes, 11-12 décembre 1998* (BCH suppl. 33, 1998), 75-91.

²⁴⁹² P. Petridis, Les ateliers de potiers à Delphes à l'époque paléochrétienne, *Topoi* 8/2 (1998), 703-710.

²⁴⁹³ See *supra*, p. 243.

²⁴⁹⁴ P. Mayerson, The Economic Status of Potters in P.Oxy. L 3595-3597 & XVI 1911, 1913, *BASP* 37 (2000), 97-100.

²⁴⁹⁵ For example, in Athens the area of Plateia Kotzia was no longer used after the Herulian attack as a cemetery. Instead, a large brick complex was established on the site. O. Zacharadou and D. Kyriakou, *AD* 43 (1988), Chr. B1, 27-28. For evidence of brick production within the urban space see K. Theodoridou, *Αναβολή στη μελέτη της παλαιάς της οικοδομικής παραγωγής* (unpublished thesis, University of Athens), 1988, 77-111, *Corinth* XI, 7-25.

the production of lime appear everywhere in abandoned ancient monumental complexes and entire cities. They give the ancient urban centres a tone of desolation and are testimony of small rural communities surviving among the ruins of a bygone age.²⁴⁹⁶

The complex aspects of civilized life in early Byzantine cities were slowly disintegrating and this trend is manifested in the decline of the ancient monumentality of the cities. The decay of aqueducts, and consequently the reduction in the supply of running water, is another sign of the decline of urban communities. When restoration work was undertaken, it was of poor quality. By the end of the early Byzantine period, most of the aqueducts had been neglected, and, as with other urban structures, when damaged by earthquakes, were not restored. City dwellers increasingly relied on wells, which also offered them a stable supply of water when under siege by enemies.

Churches became part of the urban landscape first on the cities' periphery, and later in ancient civic centres. They were established on vacant lots and on the site of various buildings. Upon the abandonment of the ancient agora as centre of administrative and social life, churches became the new urban foci. The new administrative centre was transferred to the governors' palace in the provincial capitals, or to ecclesiastical buildings. Communities now organized their life around churches, both in topographical and socio-economic terms. New neighbourhoods developed around churches, and were often located away from the ancient civic centres. Churches absorbed the declining resources of urban residents. When catastrophes struck and repairs were needed, the interest and funds of the communities were directed toward restoring churches, while other urban buildings were neglected. Once the churches had become the new centres of religious and social life, markets developed around them to serve the worshippers or were organized by the Church. Agricultural installations, in the form of olive presses and oil presses, located in urban space appear to have been connected with churches and monasteries. At an early stage, even before the invasions, there is evidence suggesting that such agricultural installations point to an organization of the production by the Church. The Church was becoming a major economic power in the cities and one of the factors that brought agricultural installations in the urban fabric. The process of the introduction of burials in the cities appears to have been similar: after the martyrs' tombs, the burials of bishops and of leading community figures were placed in churches, and cemeteries appeared around them.²⁴⁹⁷

From the middle, and especially in the last quarter of the sixth century, signs of stagnation and then of recession are obvious everywhere. The interest in maintaining the public secular urban space disappears, intrusion of crude structures into vacant urban buildings, porticoes and streets intensifies, new construction is limited to churches and fortifications alone, while the quality of repairs in terms of work and materials dramatically deteriorates. Moreover, with only a few exceptions, the size of new churches is very much reduced. This trend, which continues into the following centuries, and characterizes the cross-in-square type of church, has been regarded primarily as evidence of economic crisis and of the reduction in the size of settlements. Indeed, archaeological excavations show that, in the later part of the sixth and in the seventh centuries, when urban communities were struck by disaster such as earthquakes or enemy invasions, early Byzantine basilicas were either abandoned or restored on a much smaller scale. In the Byzantine Dark Ages the reduction in the size of churches is also very probably related to the reduction in the size of settlements and to population decline. Changing attitudes to places of worship and the more intensely felt need for privacy during prayer and the liturgy also played a role

²⁴⁹⁶ G. Argenti, Fours à pain et fours à chaux byzantins de Salamine, in *Salamine de Chypre. Histoire et archéologie. État des recherches. Colloque International du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, no. 578, Lyon 15-17 mai 1979 (Paris 1980), 329-339.

²⁴⁹⁷ Restoration of churches after catastrophes: *supra*, pp. 243, 250, 251, 281, 284, 291, 385 ff.

As an obvious element that marks the early Byzantine urban environment is the deterioration of building techniques and materials used for construction. Neatly cut and perfectly fitting ashlar construction was abandoned. Examples of such works were admired by the cultured, as representing the lost standards of the past.²⁰⁰ Instead, layers of bricks were increasingly used to alternate with layers of stones.²⁰¹ The increasing use of brick in place of stone is usually interpreted, probably rightly, in economic and practical terms. It was becoming more difficult to produce ashlars for construction, and brick also offered more stability and strength in earthquakes. In describing the total destruction of the city of Cos caused by an earthquake, Agathias remarked that, while all the buildings collapsed, only those built in the rural style with unbacked bricks and mud remained standing:

The mortar courses gradually increased in thickness, and were strengthened with the addition of crushed brick, tile and pottery.²⁸² The addition of broken tile and pottery to mortar increased the hydraulic properties of the lime and added strength to the structures.²⁸³ From the middle of the fifth century the numbers of buildings executed in mortared brick began to decline, whilst in new construction the thickness of courses of mortar gradually increased. Stone rubble with bricks or reused tiles, with or without mortar, became widely used, in a fashion reminiscent of rural building techniques. The stones were usually left unworked and many spolia were incorporated in the walls. This habit seems to have been caused by a crisis in the production of bricks and mortar.²⁸⁴ Such construction is typical in all areas of the empire.

¹⁰⁴ W. A. R. Bowden, *Town and Country in Late-Antique Epine Vitis* (Ph.D. Diss. Univ. of East Anglia 2000), 1, 204–208; *idem*, *Epine Vitis*, 166–170.

In the passage on the destruction of the city of Cypri by earthquake cited above, Agathangelos tells the houses of Cypri built in unbricked mud or made to be of rural type. Dry bricks or mud were the building materials of the countryside in all provinces of the empire, except those where stone was available in situ. In Egypt, for example, dry bricks or mud, continued to be used throughout the Roman period, while the Romans introduced baked bricks and mortar in the cities.²⁰⁸ Widespread rural construction techniques in the early Byzantine cities, together with the abandonment of the principles of the Greco-Roman urbanism in the articulation of the city planning and public monumentality, are visual proof of a severe degradation of urban space, and have been rightly interpreted as a return to local rural traditions or a consequence of the invasions. The proliferation of indigenous rural construction techniques and architecture in the West during the period of invasions from the third century or even more initially interpreted as evidence of "deurbanization".²⁰⁹ This type of argument, however, is not actually in conditions, shows that the urban space was not being destroyed, but was being transformed in less favourable conditions of the Roman world. Such urban planning and architecture and such techniques and traditions of the Roman world are archaeologically visible to us no longer expressed the style and economic level of the Greco-Roman aristocracy and elite. In the cases where the last stage of the city can be traced in the archaeological record, it is to be observed that the buildings of the period of the invasions were constructed in mud, some incorporating broken bricks and stones, or were wooden huts. Considered as being erected by invaders they reveal a rural, uncivilized life style. For example, in Sotsi, after the city's destruction by the Huns in the middle of the fifth century, the poor houses that appeared on the

200 J. M. Carré, Antiquité tardive et christianisme

employed rural techniques, some being simply huts. Their walls were constructed of stones bonded with mud, and the upper part of unbaked brick. The low cultural level of the inhabitants can be seen in the fact that they did not clean away accumulated rubbish from their workshops and kitchens.²⁵⁰ In Sirimium, such structures were introduced from the fifth century, when the city was lost to the Gepids and Ostrogoths.²⁵¹ In Nicopolis ad Istrum, the houses of the *foederati* outside the walls, to the south of the city, were not built in the traditional Roman way with a substructure of stones and mortar supporting a superstructure in pisé. Instead, the lower part of the walls was constructed in rough stones bonded with earth, and the upper part in mud brick. Curiously, although the construction techniques of the *foederati* were not influenced by Roman tradition, and the pottery types also change with the appearance of the so-called *foederati* pottery of black wares, the metalwork used was Roman/Byzantine,²⁵² which suggests various levels of interaction between invaders and Byzantines. Finally, in some towns in the northern Balkans the appearance of small crude structures indicates a Byzantine military presence, whilst in Italy Ennodius confirms the construction of poor huts by soldiers in abandoned large rich houses.²⁵³

In the later part of the sixth century, urban space disintegrated rapidly. There are signs showing that the earlier clear distinction between city and countryside was becoming more blurred both at the level of topography and at the level of life style in the cities. Agricultural installations and isolated burials, one of the striking characteristics of the end of the early Byzantine period, are found dispersed in urban public areas and residential districts. Ovens, mills, oil and wine presses appear everywhere in the cities, in empty urban lots, abandoned public and private buildings, porticoes and streets. They are a prelude to the mediaeval Byzantine city, in striking contrast to its Roman predecessor. At the end of the early Byzantine period, when the cities suffered profound disintegration during and after the period of invasions, sections of the urban space were transformed into agricultural land for market gardening.

At this point, some clarifications must be made regarding the differences between urban communities and rural ones at the level of economy and topography. Ancient and mediaeval cities depended on their rural territory for subsistence, and in socio-economic terms the relation and interaction between city and countryside was direct. Thus, for example, in all cities, a large section of the urban population owned fields in the countryside and was engaged in agriculture.²⁵⁴ Historiographical sources contain accounts of urban inhabitants going out of their city to the countryside for agricultural work.²⁵⁵ The income of the city dwellers derived either solely from agriculture or from a combination of agriculture and trade or labour. Calculations employing data from cities in the Middle East have led to the conclusion that only about 25% of the residents of Neapolis (today Nablus in Palestine) were not engaged in agriculture, and that most of the city's dwellers possessed agricultural plots. The figures for revenue deriving from agriculture for other cities vary: from 80% (Scythopolis) to 50% (Diocæsarea).²⁵⁶ The

²⁵⁰ See supra, p. 24. Also for Aquinas, see Foss, Syria, 225. Similar observations were made for the level of civilization of the new inhabitants of barbarian origin in rich houses in Italy, who threw their garbage into the empty rooms of the houses. A. M. Sotgiu and R. J. Block, *The excavations of San Giovanni di Ruvo* (Toronto 1994), 4-5.

²⁵¹ See supra, pp. 291, 304-305.

²⁵² Poulter, *Our City's Contribution*, 203-213.

²⁵³ Curta, *Peasants*, 200-201, 203, and supra, p. 173 n. 905.

²⁵⁴ Poulter, *Peasants*, 260. Claude, *Stade*, 179-180.

²⁵⁵ Justina, *the Syriac*, c. 52 (p. 41); *Miracula S. Demetrii* I, 137.12-13. It was very common for city dwellers to work in their fields outside the walls, and so Mango's conclusion in *Byzantium*, 71, on the basis of this text that 'the inhabitants [of Thessalonica] were reduced to a semi-rural existence', would not appear well founded.

²⁵⁶ *Sabari, Economy*, 273-276.

land register from Aphroditia in the nome of Antaeopolis in Egypt dated to ca. 525/6 shows that 70% of the landowners were citizens of a city or state officers.²⁵⁷ The complexity of the urban economy contrasts with the lack of diversity in the rural economy. Of course, artisan production is attested in villages, but shops are not recorded there. The variety of artisan production in the cities is also evident in the number of different types of urban crafts attested in Egypt.²⁵⁸

Although agriculture was an essential component of the urban economy, and a large part of the urban population was directly or indirectly involved in it, very few agricultural installations are attested inside ancient Greco-Roman cities. Procopius mentions mills established from ancient times on the Janiculum hill, by the bank of Tiber and inside the Aurelian wall of Rome.²⁵⁹ Stables and storage rooms for agricultural produce were obviously quite common in the cities, and mills for grinding wheat are very often found in urban houses to support the household economy, but not for a large-scale production. However, installations for agricultural production were usually located outside the limits of ancient cities, in the suburbs. Oil presses are rarely attested in Egyptian cities, where the papyrological documentation offers secure information by contrast to the uncertainty of dating using archaeological material.²⁶⁰ A lengthy topographical description of a district of Panopolis in Egypt, dated to the fourth century, contains a list of houses on the same street, workshops, and nine temples. The workshops for various specializations include two olive presses and a mill,²⁶¹ while only one house is identified as a rural house.²⁶² In general, the Greco-Roman city was distinguished from the village not only through its buildings serving urban administrative and social life, but also with the almost complete absence of agricultural installations, traditionally reserved for villages and small towns. For example, in the irregularly planned small town of Horbat Castra in Israel, just 1.5 km from the sea, fourteen wine presses and twelve oil presses have been found on the periphery of the town or scattered through the inhabited area (Plan 59).²⁶³ Furthermore, agricultural installations are more likely to be found within the limits of cities without a strong tradition of Greco-Roman urbanism. Thus, for example, the large Roman mansion on the acropolis of Diocæsarea (Sapphira), built in the second to the early third century and probably owned by a *tribunus*, included shops, workshops and an olive press.²⁶⁴ On the other hand, the principles of Roman urbanism spread through in new towns, even in peripheral provinces of the empire that developed through Roman initiative. In Horbat Kaif in southern Israel, which developed from a Roman road station into a large early Byzantine town, farmyards and agricultural areas appear only on the edges of the inhabited area.²⁶⁵

The archaeological record has revealed plenty of evidence of ruralization of cities dating towards the end of the early Byzantine period and to the seventh century. Again, the crucial question is that of

²⁵⁷ J. Gascou and L. MacCott, *Le cadastre d'Aphroditia*, *JM* 10 (1987), 105-116; R. S. Bagwell, *Landholding in Late Roman Egypt: The Distribution of Wealth*, *JRS* 82 (1992), 136-137.

²⁵⁸ R. Alston, *Trade and the City in Roman Egypt*, in H. Parkins and C. Smith (eds.), *Trade, Production and the Ancient City* (London 1998), 168-202, esp. 183-184 (96 different types of urban crafts mentioned, the 20% of the male population of Oxyrhynchus registered tradesmen); Bagwell, *Egypt*, 86 (calculations based on evidence from papyrological texts lead to the conclusion that 15-20% of the heads of households were engaged in industrial production in Egypt's late antique cities).

²⁵⁹ P. Adam-Velen, *Procopius, De Bello Gothico V.19.8-9*.

²⁶⁰ Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, *AEMT* 10 A (1996), 7 and n. 42; Bagwell, *Egypt*, 79 and n. 205.

²⁶¹ Z. Beckwith, *Une description topographique des immenses à Panopolis* (Wiesbaden 1975), 40.15, 52.14, 67.4 (olive presses).

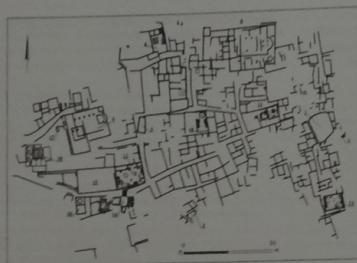
²⁶² *Ibid.*, 40.20 (mill).

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 56.16. Also (Johannes) *in* *Byzantine Excavations* (Tel Aviv 1999), 23-27.

²⁶⁴ Z. Yonin and G. Finklerstein, *Horbat Castra - 1985-1987*, *ESQ* 39 (1993), 23-27.

²⁶⁵ Weiss and Neider, *Sapphira*, 122, 126.

²⁶⁶ Y. Israel and Y. Schuster, *Horbat Kaif*, *ESQ* 111 (2000), 92-93.



PLAN 59. The town of Herbit Castra, with oil and wine presses.

chronology. Archaeologists usually date agricultural installations from the period of the invasions, when the ancient structure of most cities disintegrated. Indeed, very few rural installations in cities can be dated with certainty to the sixth century before the invasions. In Messene in the Peloponnese, a monumental fountain between the theatre and the north portico of the agora, with a pool 40 m long and an *exedra* adorned with bronze statues, was severely damaged by an earthquake in 360-370. The eastern part that remained standing was used as a water mill in the first half of the sixth century.²²⁸ Again and again we observe that it is after major catastrophes, during which the ancient buildings were destroyed, that the new articulation of urban space can be discerned in the archaeological record. Indeed, we have already stated that after earthquakes, the previous structure and assigned function of urban space is not sustained. Thus, for example, the west side of Hanghaus 2 at Ephesus collapsed in an earthquake between 612-616, and a series of mills appeared on the site, using the power of the water flowing down the hill.²²⁹ Although the installation of agricultural structures on the site of agora/fora and streets gives a dramatic air to urban decline and disintegration, the agora, of course, had long ceased to function as urban centre. In Athens, a flourmill with a water wheel is located in the southeast corner of the agora, dating to ca. 450-580 and finally destroyed by fire. Thompson and Wycherley concluded: "Whether these modest establishments served the needs of the Gymnasium or of the townspeople, their very existence in this place strikes a rustic note in startling contrast with the sophisticated atmosphere of the ancient Agora".²³⁰ Olive presses are also found in or near the Palace of the Giants and the Metroon. In the Palace an olive press was used for private production before the late sixth century, but the Palace may

²²⁸ Themistis, *Messene*, 27-28, 35.

²²⁹ H. Veyne, *Ephesus. Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht* 1981, *Ant.* 121 (1984), 224. The issue of the date of the Houses of the Slope on the Emklisis is not settled. M. Thir, in *Rand. New Research*, 144 and n. 91.

²³⁰ H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora. XIV. The Agora of Athens. The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City-Centre* (Princeton 1972), 214.

perhaps have been transformed into a monastery. At the end of the sixth century or more probably at the seventh, the olive presses of the Palace and of the Metroon were raised (Figure 57).²³¹ In Delos, a



FIG. 57. Ancient Agora of Athens: Central Mill, mill room, third quarter of the fifth century

wine press was established in one of the city's most important streets of the district of the theatre. Bearing a Christian inscription, it dates to the fifth to sixth century.²³² In Argos, agricultural installations multiply from the middle of the sixth century.²³³

We have already looked at the role of the Church in establishing installations for agricultural production in urban space by incorporating them in monastic complexes or attaching them to churches.²³⁴ Towards the end of the early Byzantine period and in the period of transition to the Middle Ages, the Church took over the organization of substantial sectors of the urban economy. At the same time, at the level of ideology and urban culture, the Church took up position against traditional urban values and detached itself from the ancient urban tradition, centred on institutions such as the agora/forum and the public spectacles. The Church played a major role in "declassifying" urban life. In combination with the decline of the urban upper class in the sixth century, the Church also reinforced the trend of the period towards the vulgarization of culture by socially and spiritually promoting and validating the lower

²³¹ Frantz, *The Athenian Agora*, 121-122.

²³² Ph. Bruneau and Ph. Frantz, *Un pressoir à vin à Delos, BCH* 105 (1981), 127-153; idem, *Pressoirs deliens, BCH* 106 (1984), 713-730.

²³³ Athanilo-Royak, *Argos*, 400.

²³⁴ See *supra*, pp. 424-425.

To reach a better understanding of how the fortunes of the urban upper class affected the articulation of urban space and contributed to the ruralization of the city, we need to stress a few points regarding their position vis-à-vis the countryside in the early Byzantine period. Up until the end of the early Byzantine period and afterwards, the wealthy members of the urban communities, who were also owners of large estates, usually dwelt in the cities. In Antioch, the bouleuterion remained in the city as long as they were involved in the civic administration and only upon their retirement from public life did they withdraw to their estates.²⁵² Furthermore, those who attempted to escape their curial obligations moved to their estates,²⁵³ and in areas less urbanized, such as Cappadocia, decurions were ready to retreat to their fortified villas, if they were pressured by the government.²⁵⁴ However, the *hypomeis* (Homer's cowherds) and the *hypomeis* (Homer's cowherds) were not the only people who left the city. Some, who retired to his estate (ἀγρός) lacks love for or hates the city (ἀμίαντα ἡ μισοῦσάν)²⁵⁵. The typology of rural houses in most areas indicates that in heavily urbanized areas of the empire rich landowners dwelt in the cities.²⁵⁶ Papyri also show beyond any doubt that in Egypt in the sixth and in the seventh centuries the

²⁰⁴ J.-P. Sodini and G. Tate, *Maisons d'époque romaine et byzantine (II^e-VI^e siècles) du Massif Calcaire de Syrie du Nord. Étude typologique, in *Apamée* (1980), 377-446; J. Ch. Balty, Notes sur l'habitat romain, byzantin et arabe d'Apamée. Rapport de synthèse, *Ibid.*, 492-497; Tate, *Compagnes*, 257-267.*

class fled, abandoning their luxurious houses of the Roman period type, replaced by the humble dwellings of the fourth century. Great aristocratic houses of the Roman period type, owned by the urban wealthy, underwent profound changes, and in their final stage are marked by signs of disintegration and ruralization.²⁵⁰ During the first stages, large luxurious houses were subdivided to accommodate more people, either sold to new, poorer owners, or rented by the original owners to members of the lower classes. By the sixth century, the architecture of the Roman type of large house had radically altered. The intercolumniation of the peristyle was closed, rooms, including trichinae, were subdivided to create new living space for more residents. In some cases, archaeological evidence reveals that the aristocrats

250 Holum, Bouletic Class, 820-827, 1982

17-118. See the remarks of Noyé, Villot, 709.

were still living in part of the subdivided house, while in other sections workshops were functioning.²⁵⁰ The living conditions of the urban upper class were clearly deteriorating. The last stage of the aristocratic houses, dating from the middle of the sixth century, was one of profound decline. The peristyle type of house was abandoned forever and no more such houses were built. The old houses, then abandoned by their rich owners, were taken over by peasants and artisans.

At the end of the early Byzantine period changes in domestic architecture lead to the mediaeval model, which consists of rural components. The ground floor was used for stables and storerooms, while the family reception room and living quarter were located on the upper floor. The radical discontinuity with the Roman and late ancient *domus* is clear. In early mediaeval Rome such houses were organized in complexes and included gardens, orchards and barns. They are attested in the texts as *curtes*, a term deriving from the rural environment and suggesting the spread of rural architecture and life in the city. This type of house derives either from the rural house that existed in Italy during the Roman empire or from that used by the foreign invaders, or from both. It was introduced to the cities because of the insecurity of the period, the agricultural character of cities, which created a need for agricultural activities in the ground floor, and the decline of the water supply and drainage system.²⁵² Later, in mediaeval Byzantium, aristocratic houses in the cities, including Constantinople, had various installations for agricultural production. For example, the house of Michael Attaleiates in Constantinople included a chapel and a donkey-driven mill on the ground floor.²⁵³

In most of the urban centres, the next step towards ruralization occurred on the eve of the invasions and undoubtedly afterwards, too. At this point agricultural installations, mills, and olive and wine presses multiply everywhere in the urban space, in public and private buildings, in streets and empty lots. Moreover, plots used for cultivation appear inside the cities. A passage from the Funeral Oration to Julian by Libanius makes some very interesting observations: in the fourth century, agricultural land and rural work inside the city walls were incompatible with urban life, and, when they occurred, they were the consequence of the war:

Those cities that escaped the sack by the strength of their walls had no land save for a very small area: their folk were ravaged by famine and had recourse to anything that could serve for food, until the inhabitants were so reduced in number that the cities themselves formed both city and farmland and the uninhabited spaces inside the defences provided land enough for farming (ὡς εἰς τοσοῦτον οὐμάτων κατάρτησιν ἀρτημένων ὥστε τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς ἀγροῦς τε εἶναι καὶ πόλεως καὶ τὸ εἶναι τὴν περὶ πόλιν οὐσίαν ἀγροῦς καὶ πόλεως). Yes, oxen were yoked, furrows drawn, the seed set, and the corn grew, was reaped and threshed, all inside the city gates (καὶ γὰρ βοῆς ἐζεύγντο καὶ ἀροτρον εὐρετο καὶ σπέρμα καταβάλλετο καὶ ὄνεια στήριζεν καὶ θεριστὴ καὶ δάριος καὶ πάντα ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν).²⁵⁴

Of course, gardens and sometimes fields were found in ancient cities, but mainly in those areas without strong ties with the Greco-Roman urban tradition. Procopius mentions open fields and gardens,

²⁵⁰ See *supra*, pp. 166–173.

²⁵¹ R. S. Valentini, *Residential Building in Early Medieval Rome*, in Smith, *Early Medieval Rome*, 101–112; B. Polić, *Some Aspects of the Transformation of the Roman Domus between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, *L&A* 1 (2003), 79–109.

²⁵² P. Gantier, *La diatèse de Michel Attaleiates*, *REB* 39 (1981), 28–79 (τὸ ἑσπέρειον κορυφολογεῖον καὶ ἔργον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀντικείμενον).

²⁵³ Libanius, *Op.* XVIII.35 (transl. Norman).

rocky cliffs and pasture land enclosed within the long wall of Caesarea in Cappadocia, making the city's defence difficult.²⁵⁵ But this was undoubtedly an exception, and it is recorded as such by Procopius, with the obvious implications for the city's defence. Julian of Ascalon clearly defines the "urban agriculture" that was allowed in urban areas: trees, vines and vegetables, all of which do not require cultivation (τῇ γεωργίᾳ ἐπιδοῦναι ... μὴ γεωργοῦμεναι).²⁵⁶

But the impact of the invasions on urban centres brought about a fundamental realignment in urban structure. In the Balkans in the second half of the sixth century, most cities were transformed into small, fortified communities, agricultural in character.²⁵⁷ Fortifications, a natural response to the invasions, inside which the residential areas shrunk, drastically reduced the size of cities. The new urban centres resembled large fortified villages, in terms of size and economic activities. The old distinction between city and *kome* or village shifted to that between fortified city or *kome* and unfortified village. City and fortified *kome* are closer than ever before. From the seventh century the term *kastros* is applied to both fortified cities and large *komai*.²⁵⁸ In the archaeological record, in early Byzantine urban centres, the signs of ruralization are discerned in the numerous installations for agricultural production in public space and in residential areas inside the earlier large rich houses, and also in the transformation of sections of earlier urban areas into gardens and fields. V. Popović examined the evidence from some urban communities of the northern Balkan peninsula: Sirmium, Dinetia, Histria, Justiniana Prima (Caricin Grad), Stobi and Heraclea Lyncestis.²⁵⁹ While the earlier public buildings and rich private houses were abandoned, poor structures built in the rural style proliferate everywhere. In some cases, the inhabitants of these structures were from the countryside, and had moved into the cities for security. At the same time the presence of barbaric inhabitants is clearly attested in many of the cities in the northern Balkans. Justiniana Prima (Caricin Grad) offers spectacular evidence of the city's changing conditions in the course of the sixth century, since it had a life of less than a century. Built by Justinian, it was destroyed and abandoned in the early seventh century. The process of the disintegration of its urban space began in the last decades of the sixth century, after the reign of Justin II, when, during the Avaro-Slavic invasions, population from the suburbs and from the countryside moved into the city. Poor dwellings and shops were built in open urban areas, in porches, around churches and in subdivided buildings, thus making the socio-economic changes in the city clear.²⁶⁰ In the city itself numerous artisans' tools have been found. While the poor constructions of this phase are no longer attributed to the Slavs, because they are not typically Slavic, some objects identified with certainty as Slavic but found in Byzantine strata show that by the end of the sixth century Slavs had been allowed to settle in the city.²⁶¹ The con-

²⁵⁵ Procopius, *De aedificiis* V.4.10–12: Τηδαι τε γὰρ πάλαι καὶ νέωνος Περσέωνος καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡ γεωργία ἐπιδόθη. Ἐνθα δὲ οὐδὲ γόνυ ὁμοῦ οὐδὲ δουλοῦσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπου φύσεως ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡ γεωργία ἐπιδόθη. Εἰ δὲ αὖτις καὶ οὐκ ἐπιδόθη, ταῦτα δὲ ἀγροῦς καὶ πόλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ γεωργοῦσθαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐπιδόθη.

²⁵⁶ Julian of Ascalon, c. 50.6, and p. 93.

²⁵⁷ Popović, *Desintegration*, Barant, *La ville*, 287.

²⁵⁸ Dagron, *Entre village*, 44 and *supra*, pp. 38–39, 99–100.

²⁵⁹ Popović, *Desintegration*, and his conclusion of p. 565.

²⁶⁰ Kordic and Popović, *Caricin Grad*, 372 ff.; *Caricin Grad* II, 297 ff. Since the suburbs have not been yet excavated, it is not known whether the population that moved inside the urban fortifications seeking protection came from these residential districts or from the countryside. See also Barant, *La ville*, 285.

²⁶¹ Kordic and Popović, *Caricin Grad*, 363–364; Barant, *La ville*, 285; V. Popović, *Un état de peuplement de type "antique"* et les objets d'origine ethnique étrange à Caricin Grad, in *Caricin Grad* I, 160–175. In numerous sites Antiochian fish are found together with Byzantine artefacts suggesting a close contact of the new settlers with the Byzantine population. Fr. Barant, *Les témoignages archéologiques de la présence slave au sud du Danube, in Filles et populations*, 165–166; Gregory, *Isthmia*, 159.

Baysan reveals itself as a medium-sized town of rather rural character situated within the frame of magnificent Roman architecture. If a traveller in Baysan's streets raised his eyes, he could still see a skyline composed of impressive colonnades, porticoes, the remains of the scaenae frons of the theatre, the upper story of the amphitheatre, and even the remains of the pronaos of the temple in the city centre. If he lowered his eyes he would see how the lower parts of these monuments were concealed by ordinary residential buildings, shops, and workshops that were inserted into porticoes of the streets and leaned against monumental façades.²⁵⁷⁴

In Antioch the gardens and empty space mentioned in the Islamic period were probably a development dating to before the Islamic invasion in the middle of the seventh century.²⁵⁷⁵ Even in the capital, Constantinople, a rural appearance often characterized the public space of the mediaeval period: texts refer to the flocks of pigs and sheep that were led to the city's central market,²⁵⁷⁶ and rich houses, like that of Michael Attaleiates, mentioned above, possessed agricultural installations. In the West the phenomenon is better illustrated because it was more acute on account of the rapid disintegration of the cities. At the time of Atalaric, the grandson of Theoderic, herds of cattle passed through the Forum of Peace.²⁵⁷⁷ In the Palatine in Rome there is evidence of agricultural soil and agricultural activities in the second half of the fifth and in the early sixth century.²⁵⁷⁸ Ruralization of the large luxurious houses and of the entire urban space is evident in Italian cities from the sixth century: gardens and vineyards and areas for animal breeding are found even in provincial capitals. In the middle of the sixth century the cities suffered severe depopulation and the contrast between city and countryside had diminished and in most cases had disappeared. Cassiodorus praises his natal city Scolacium, *prima urbium Brutiorum*, for being open to the fields from which it was separated with a wall, although it had agricultural lots inside.²⁵⁷⁹ In the forum of Iol Caesarea, abundant cereal seeds and barley may have come from cultivated fields in the city and date to the seventh century.²⁵⁸⁰ In the West agricultural land, used for market gardening inside cities, is recognized by the so-called layer of black soil, with which archaeologists are familiar.²⁵⁸¹

Together with installations for agricultural production in the cities, kilns appeared everywhere,²⁵⁸² in or near abandoned ancient buildings and temples, for burning the slabs of marble and architectural ornaments to produce lime. Kilns in ancient public areas and in residential quarters lend the urban landscape an air of urban decline and desolation. They appear in urban areas that had lost their earlier function and were abandoned. They too, show the total break with the ancient urban architecture and the legacy of the past.

²⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 136-137.

²⁵⁷⁵ Foss, Syria, 195. Later sources mention gardens and open space within the walls, a situation that probably prevailed already by the mid-seventh century.

²⁵⁷⁶ Mango, *Le développement*, 57.

²⁵⁷⁷ Procopius, *De Bello Gothico* VIII.21.11.

²⁵⁷⁸ P. Arnould and Y. Thibert, Rome: le Palatin (Vigna Barberini), *MEFR* 107/1 (1995), 490-492; H. Broise and Y. Thibert, Rome: le Palatin (Vigna Barberini), *MEFR* 108/1 (1996), 450; B. Bavaud, Cadre de vie et habitat urbain en Italie centrale byzantine (Vie-VIIIe s.), *MEFR* 101 (1989), 465-532; R. Meneghini and R. Santangeli Valenzani, Episodi di trasformazione del paesaggio urbano nella Roma altomedievale, *Archaeologia medievale* 23 (1996), 53-59.

²⁵⁷⁹ Cassiodorus, *Variarum* XII.15.

²⁵⁸⁰ Potter, *Iol Caesarea*, 61; Kolendo and Kotula, *Quelques problèmes*, 175-184, esp. 181 ff.

²⁵⁸¹ Lewis, *Agricultural Production*, 61-63; A. Carandini, L'ultima civiltà sepolta o del massimo oggetto desueto, secondo un archeologo, in *Storia di Roma* III/2, 11-38.

²⁵⁸² Even in recent studies it is admitted that the phenomenon is not fully understood, as, for example, in Morrison and Sodani, *Economy*, 203: "but we are not able to fathom the reasons for this phenomenon".

From a different perspective, changes in pottery types also reveal ruralization. With the progressive slowdown of long distance trade and the closing of international markets, facilities producing high quality pottery could not continue to function. Pottery production gradually became local and served local communities and those of the surrounding area. The decline of fine pottery and the appearance of handmade pottery is a rural element in urban households and reveals the degradation of the living conditions of the urban dwellers. At the same time there was an increasing preference for non-ceramic containers and, perhaps a little later, for woodenware.²⁵⁸³ The presence of hand made pottery in urban areas is also associated with the conditions created inside the cities in the period of invasions, when peasants from the countryside fled into the cities, while the members of the upper class left for more secure places in other provinces. In Justiniana Prima, the pottery made without a wheel dates to the period before the city's destruction,²⁵⁸⁴ when professional potters were no longer active, either because the upper class was in decline or because the rural population inside the city was increasing. The material life of the urban dwellers was becoming increasingly poorer and was taking on rural characteristics.

Christian burials scattered inside the cities' residential areas and in abandoned public and private ancient buildings mark the last stage of Christianization and degradation of the urban space. We have seen how Christianity changed people's perception of death and how burials were first introduced into the cities with the martyrs' relics and privileged burials in and around churches. From the second half of the sixth century and in the seventh, however, the proliferation of burials in the context of deep urban degradation is usually to be connected with the invasions. Burials mark the decline of the ancient urban centres, the point at which continuity with the ancient city is totally lost. Again scholars encounter difficulties in dating burials, for early Christian burials do not contain coins or other datable material. Instead, they are dated from the context and stratigraphy, which do not always provide the desired accuracy. In most cases, burials in urban areas in a state of abandonment and disintegration appear in the sixth century, but it is difficult to determine whether they should be dated to before or during the period of invasions.²⁵⁸⁵ From evidence derived from all areas of the empire, it is clear that changes in the articulation of urban space and the relocation of the city centres to other sites created a vacuum and precipitated the appearance of Christian burials in urban districts. It has been suggested that urban sections and buildings where burials appeared may have belonged to the Church, while the reduction of the area defended by the early Byzantine walls may explain the appearance of burials in old urban districts. Another factor that precipitated the *intra muros* burials were epidemics or famines with a great number of victims.²⁵⁸⁶

In the turmoil of the invasions the old urban order was shaken, emergencies dictated the use of abandoned buildings and civic land for burial, as did the insecurity outside the walls and the need to prevent the desecration of tombs by the enemy. At the same time the decline in population due to the plague in combination with invasions created much vacant land in the cities for burials. This phenomenon is to be observed in areas that suffered from invasions in the fifth century. In Sirmium around the church in the city centre, a cemetery had developed before the city was occupied by the Huns in 441. In the course of the fifth century, scattered burials and small groups of tombs appear in residential districts inside the walls, and belong to the Romanized population of the city, while the tombs of the Ostrogoths *foederati* lay outside the walls.²⁵⁸⁷ In Carthage, the Vandal invasion probably caused burials to appear in the fifth century throughout the city, especially in abandoned buildings. They are arranged along the

²⁵⁸³ See *supra*, pp. 42-44.

²⁵⁸⁴ Curjel, *Grand L*, 137.

²⁵⁸⁵ J. R. Harri and S. P. Roikans, *Excavations at Carthage: The British Mission, I. 1. The Avenue of President Habib Bourguiba*, *Salomonbo*, *The Site and Finds other than Pottery* (Sheffield 1984), 66-67.

²⁵⁸⁶ Joshua the Stylite, c. 43 (p. 53); Procopius, *De Bello Persico* II.23.9-11.

²⁵⁸⁷ Bavaud, *La ville*, 254, 262-263; Popović, *Disintegration*, 750.

Theodosian wall inside and outside the line of the walls. The levelling of buildings in the vicinity of the wall apparently created available lots for burials.²⁵⁸ In the cities where the invaders settled, they introduced burials in the residential areas.²⁵⁹ At the same time burials inside the urban space, together with the agricultural installations, gave the cities an additional tone of rusticity, since burials near houses were a rural tradition.²⁶⁰

Finally, archaeology reveals a further type of disintegration of urban space, consisting of a slow process of fragmentation of the old urban residential area into nuclei of agricultural character around churches, while ancient civic centres were abandoned and agricultural installations and burials appeared in public areas and residential quarters. This last stage of the early Byzantine cities, also connected with the decline of population, is not dated with certainty. Archaeological reports place it in the context of the invasions, and indeed there is plenty of evidence to show that urban life disintegrated when cities suffered from invasion. The phenomenon is better documented in peripheral provinces of the empire. For example, in the fifth century, when Sirmium was occupied by the Huns, the Ostrogoths and the Gepids, the inhabited area retracted and nuclei of dwellings set at a distance from each other evolved. In the sixth century only the south part of the city was inhabited.²⁶¹ In North Africa a shift to the periphery of the cities is attested from the fourth century due to wars, and the Vandal and Byzantine conquests.²⁶²

Dating this development is of paramount importance: did the decline and breakdown of cities into smaller communities occur before the invasions and would it have happened regardless of any stimulus provided by the invasions? Although more studies from various sites are needed to trace the process of urban disintegration in the decades before the wars, there is some evidence indicating that the phenomenon was not always related to the invasions. During the first stage of a potential process of disintegration, the new articulation of the urban space, the irrelevance by the sixth century of ancient civic centres and the creation of new ones around churches were major factors in the loss of the previous urban unity of space and community. As time passed, and historical circumstances changed, economic stagnation and recurring outbreaks of plague weakened the urban populations.²⁶³ Ephesus appears to have suffered some population decrease in the inhabited area outside the Byzantine walls before the Persian invasion of the seventh century. In the fifth and sixth centuries the centre of Ephesus moved to the Church of St. Mary and the bishop's and the governor's palaces. This area was surrounded by a wall, dated to the fifth or early sixth century,²⁶⁴ and it included the Arcadiane and the area from the harbour to the theatre (Plan II). The new line of fortifications left out the area of the Embolos and the Upper Agora, the old administrative centre, which was apparently no longer in use in the early Byzantine city. The other part of the city lay on the fortified hill of Ayasuluk. By 600, ancient Ephesus seems to have comprised only isolated pockets of habitation and of commercial activity, while large areas stood deso-

²⁵⁸ S. Stevens, *Sepulchral traditions in the theatre at Carthage*, in *Monuments Antiques, Institutions antiques et Africain du Nord antique et médiéval. 8^e colloque int. de l'histoire et de l'archéologie de l'Afrique du nord* (Carthage 1995), 207-218, *idem*, *Traditional Neighbourhoods and Suburban Frontiers in Late- and Post-Roman Carthage*, in *Mathews and Sivan, Shifting Frontiers*, 190-5, P. Ellis and J. H. Humphrey, *Interpretation and Analysis of the Cemetery in Hama, The Great*, 325-336.

²⁵⁹ In the Palatine in Rome, for example, the few vaults with fash, due to the fire half of the sixth century and belong to the Constantinian, P. V. Villard, *Rome: le Palatin* (Vigore Barbesse), MEFR 196 (1964), 435.

²⁶⁰ Lamm, *Securities*, 230.

²⁶¹ Burattini, *La ville*, 263.

²⁶² S. Burattini, *Urban Transition in North Africa: Roman and Medieval Towns of the Maghreb*, in Christie and Lowrey, *Towns in Transition*, 160-164.

²⁶³ On the plague as one of the causes of urban decline see supra, p. 40.

²⁶⁴ Karaman, *Grave de la déesse*, 138-141, *idem*, *The Church of Mary and the Temple of Hadrian Olympias*, in H. Karaman, *Ephesus: Metropolis of Asia* (Valley Forge, Pa. 1995), 311-319.

late.²⁶⁵ The weakness of communities in the seventh century is clearly documented in the archaeological record. After destruction by earthquakes, instead of being restored, urban centres were broken up into small settlements, which suggests that the invasions merely precipitated a trend that had begun earlier. A few other examples from some of the best-excavated sites tend to confirm this development. Sardis in the seventh century dissolved into several small rural settlements, with the castle on the acropolis, and its population was reduced perhaps as much as 90%.²⁶⁶ Carthage in the middle of the seventh century disintegrated into poor communities around churches.²⁶⁷ The ruralization and disintegration of Petra into small settlements dates to the seventh century.²⁶⁸ After the earthquake of 670 early Arab invasions prevented reconstruction of Gortyn, which consequently broke up in small agricultural communities.²⁶⁹ Eleutherna evolved in a similar fashion during the same period.²⁷⁰

Earthquakes were a major factor in weakening cities at the end of the early Byzantine period and are often considered an essential cause of their decline.²⁷¹ Cities that suffered severe damage from earthquakes were normally restored on the initiative of and with funds from the imperial government. Salamis in Cyprus was destroyed by earthquakes in 332 and 342 and reconstructed by Constantine II (337-361), the inhabitants expressing their gratitude to the emperor by giving their new city the name *Constantia*. We have seen how Justinian restored Antioch after it had been struck by an earthquake. Agathias reminded his readers that in the past, cities ruined by earthquakes were restored:

To be moved to pity by tragedies such as these seems only human, but to declare oneself utterly baffled and astonished would be to betray one's ignorance of past history and of the fact that this world of ours is by its very nature continually exposed to a variety of calamities and misfortunes. Indeed frequently in the past whole cities have been destroyed by earthquakes, losing all their original population and eventually being repopled, as new cities rise on their ruins.²⁷²

The role of the state in such major restoration projects was essential. When the central government showed no interest and took no initiative in restoring cities damaged by earthquakes, they never recovered. For example, in Cyprus, Idalion, Golgoi, Throi and Knidos were reduced to small rural communities by earthquakes in the fourth century, whilst Paphos was also severely affected. When Antipatris in the Byzantine province of Palaestina Prima (today Israel), was destroyed by an earthquake in 479, it disintegrated into several small communities in the surrounding territory, whose economic activity replaced that of the city.²⁷³ Obviously, since the city did not serve any political or military purpose, there was no interest on the part of the authorities or the local upper class in restoring it, and it was aban-

²⁶⁵ Burattini, *The Decline*, 285.

²⁶⁶ C. Ford and G. M. A. Harland, *Regional Setting and Urban Development in Sardis and Waidham, A Survey of Sardis*, 32-33.

²⁶⁷ L. Eusebi, *Carthage: Une métropole déclinée de 479 à la fin du VI^e siècle* (Paris 1987), 137.

²⁶⁸ Farnes, *Late antique Petra*, 241.

²⁶⁹ A. Di Vita, *I resti visibili della S.A.L.A. a Gortina. Un contributo alla conoscenza di Carthago* (Carthago 1995), 29-30.

²⁷⁰ XXXVIII *Carthago* 38 (1992), 170-171, *idem*, *Gortina II*, 108-109, *idem*, *Dispositif d'archéologie* 20 (1993), 29-30.

²⁷¹ The break-up of cities in clusters of dwellings see Haldin, *The Sites*, 15-16.

²⁷² Yavuz, *Eleutherna*, 311-313.

²⁷³ See supra, pp. 40-41.

²⁷⁴ Agathias II, 16.7 (trans. Frendo), 90.

²⁷⁵ M. Fischer, *An Early Byzantine Settlement at Kh. Zikim (Israel): A Contribution to the Archaeology of Paganism in the Holy Land*, *ACAC* 32 (1986), 2, 190-197.

doned. Sagalassos was struck by earthquakes in 518 and 528 after which it never recovered. Its aqueduct was damaged, which had a negative effect on the life of the city.²⁶⁸ In Greece, Thasos and Philippi were destroyed by earthquakes in the early seventh century, in a period when they no longer had the resources to recover.²⁶⁹ The archaeological record shows that in the latter part of the sixth century and in the seventh, cities struck by earthquakes were unable to recover. The efforts that the local communities and the state put into restoring the devastated city were very small in comparison to the efforts of earlier years. The scale of reconstruction was limited, the materials used and the techniques employed indicate the cities' financial difficulties. In many cases, especially in the Balkans, the invasions that followed immediately afterwards gave the cities the final blow. But even had the invasions not taken place, still after such natural disasters in the late sixth and in the seventh century, the restored cities would have been very different, presumably smaller and poorer. The inhabitants would have responded by levelling off ruins from foundations for new buildings or abandoning the site altogether. Such a reaction is illustrated by Scythopolis, a vivid example of an early mediaeval city that continued to live on the site in very much reduced circumstances after a devastating earthquake in 749. The restoration of the ancient remains by Israeli archaeologists allows the modern visitor to visualize the city in different historical periods. The Roman and early Byzantine city may be seen in the area of Palladius Street, and the effects of an earthquake may be surmised from the ruins from the earthquake in the section from the Roman temple and the nymphaeum to Sylvanus Street. Today the visitor may see the collapsed columns and the raised level above the ruins, over which the new dwellings were constructed. Parts of the collapsed columns that projected above the new level of habitation were cut to bring them to the floor level of the Islamic dwellings (Figures, 58a, 58b, 58c).



FIG. 58a. Muslim walls built with spolia among the ruins of Scythopolis after the earthquake of 749.

²⁶⁸ See *supra*, pp. 224–226, 237, 347.

²⁶⁹ See *supra*, p. 25.



FIG. 58b. Column of the Roman Temple of Scythopolis that collapsed in the earthquake of 749.



FIG. 58c. After the destruction caused by the earthquake of 749, the Muslim residents of Scythopolis built their houses above the level of destruction. In the photo, part of a protruding capital was cut to level off the floor of a new house.

The new model of the city

It is important to emphasize that the new type of Byzantine city first appeared before the sixth century in the area of the Balkans. This was due to the invasions. Urban life in the Balkans was affected both by passing waves of invaders and by the constant infiltration of groups of barbarians. Imperial policy was determined by this development before the sixth century, when such groups were entrusted with the defence of the frontier zones of the empire and were allowed to settle inside the frontier. Others were given permission to settle in different areas of the empire as part of a settlement concluded after invasions. Barbarian infiltration may have actually been favoured by landowners who found in the barbarians a source of manpower for their estates. During the Avaro-Slavic attack against Thessalonika in 586, the city's inhabitants received Slavs inside the walls and accommodated them in the public baths, which were not in operation at the time.²⁶⁰ They certainly did not consider the Slavs they protected inside their city to be enemies. Such groups brought with them new rural building techniques and new elements of material life. They were a factor in the ruralization of the cities in a period when the social and economic forces of the cities were weakened. Of course, the role of the cities as places of refuge during enemy invasions is known from all historical periods.²⁶¹ In the latter part of the sixth century in the Balkans, however, the invasions precipitated and intensified trends that had already appeared in the cities. In Justiniana Prima (Carlin Grad), the changes in urban space occurring in the last decades of the sixth century during the Avaro-Slavic invasions are very well illustrated, since the city was abandoned after it was destroyed in a new attack in the early seventh century. Excavations have revealed the crowded conditions in the last decades of the sixth century inside the urban space caused by the presence of the people and the animals in the same place. Everywhere there were workshops and small houses, and the streets were cluttered with the refuse of the city. The production of food and poor houses, rather, occupying public and private buildings. Although the production of food and transactions were conducted by coin, indicating that the city still maintained a substantial level of economic activity, the conditions in the city were very different than before. Public space had shrunk now, occupied by modest dense habitations and workshops. Moreover, there are signs of rusticity in the urban space, typical in all cities in this period.

Sources blame Constantine for causing the weakness of the state in defending its frontiers, and its inability to keep the barbarians out, since he removed most of the troops from the *limes* and stationed them in cities.^{200b} As a consequence, the state responded to the invasions by the construction of forts on

²⁰⁰ *Miracula S. Demetrii*, I, 150-151; και πολλοὺς αὐτὸν προσποιεῖται τε καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι πείθει τὴ πόλει προσχωρεῖν, ὡς μαρτυροῦνται τὰ ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ δημόσια βιβλιάνια ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις μεταχωρούμενα, πάντεσθιν πλείεσθιν ποῖς τῆς πόλεως χαριζομένων καὶ χάριτος ἐγγιγνόμεναι.

²⁶⁰ Zosimus II.34.2: Καὶ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν διαθεῖναι ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῶν ἐπαγαίων ἀποστέρας ταῖς οὐ θεωμέναις βοηθείαι πώλεον ἐγκριτέστηται, καὶ τοὺς ἐνοχλουμένους ἐπὶ βασιβαῖον ἐνίσταται.

The real threat of invasions and state policy dictated the relocation of cities to new sites, naturally defended for strategic reasons, such as steep hills and river promontories with deep precipitous slopes. The Anonymous *Strategikon* describes the preferred locations for the construction of new cities: on high ground with steep slopes, with rivers flowing around, on promontories in the sea or in large rivers connected with the mainland by narrow stretches of land.²⁰¹ In some cases, sources assure us that the initiative was taken by the state, as is attested in Procopius' *Buildings*. In other instances, however, one can imagine that it was the urban dwellers, under the leadership of local magnates and, above all, the bishop, who transferred their city to nearby fortified sites.²⁰² Since the invasions in the northern provinces of the Balkans had already begun in the fourth century, and continued to recur and be followed by

βοηθείας, καὶ ταῖς ἀνεμέναις τῶν πόλεων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιτοχὴν λέγουσι, δι' ἣν ἔδει πλείονα γενέσθαι ἔργων, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκδότους ἑαυτοὺς θεάτροις καὶ τρυφαῖς ἐμμελεῖν, καὶ πλείους εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς τὴν πραγματικὴν ἐκδοχὴν πλείονα τὴν ἀποχὴν καὶ τὸ σπένδοντα δίδουσι.

2009 R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass./London, England 1963), 14–22, and the classical work of E. N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century A.D. to the Third* (Baltimore, Maryland 1976). T. E. Gregory, *Kastro and Diastichisma as Responses to Early Byzantine Frontier Collapse*, *Byzantion* 62 (1992), 235–263; Zanini, *The Urban Ideal*, 201 ff.

²⁰¹⁰ Procopius, *De aedificiis* II.4.15-18.

2811 J. E. Gagnon, 'The Late Roman Wall at Corinth', *Hesperia* 48 (1979), 278; idem, *Fortification*, 50-51.

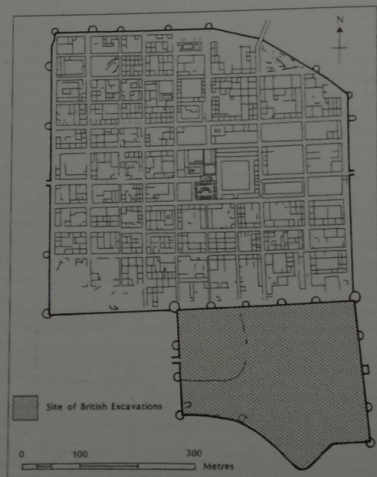
2011 T. E. Gregory, *The Late Roman*

²⁰¹ Diodorus, *Epores* I.102–103.
²⁰² Procopius, *Historia arabe* XXIV.12. See also B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Romans, Arabs in the East* (Oxford, revised ed. 1992); Freeman and Kennedy, *The Defence*; D. H. French and C. S. Lightfoot (eds.), *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire: Proceedings of a colloquium held at Ankara in September 1988*, I–II (BAR Int. Series, Oxford 1989); W. Lachschoetz, *The Defences of Syria in the Sixth Century. Studien zu den Militärsystemen Roms II* (Cologne 1977), 405–490; Z. T. Ffoma, *Military Architecture and the Defense "System" of Roman-Byzantine Southern Jordan – A Critical Appraisal of Current Interpretations*, in *Jordan V*, 261–269.

²⁰¹⁷ Dunn, *The transition*, favours the role of the state in this development. See also Zanini, *The Urban Ideal*, 220; Bowden, *Slaves of Islam*, 149, 190 emphasizes the role of the bishop as was the case in the West.

permanent settlement of ethnically varied peoples, the changes made in urban space became permanent and the cities could never recover their old form. Some cities in the northern provinces of the Balkans that suffered from invasion were already showing signs of decline and ruralization in the fifth century. It was in these historical circumstances in the fifth century that the new type of city emerged in the Balkans with the characteristics of the mediaeval city. Cities of this type consist of settlements smaller in size, with strong fortifications and housing ecclesiastical authorities and a military garrison. The activities of the inhabitants were artisan and agricultural.²⁶¹⁶ They differ above all from the earlier cities in the absence of an urban upper class and public buildings essential in the Greco-Roman cities.

Nicopolis ad Istrum offers one of the best examples of the withdrawal of the ancient Roman city in the fifth century to a smaller, better-defended site (Plan 60). Nicopolis was affected by the settlement



PLAN 60. Nicopolis ad Istrum.

²⁶¹⁶ Bavaire, La ville, 272; Curta, *Prosaunt*, 200; Donn, *The transition*.

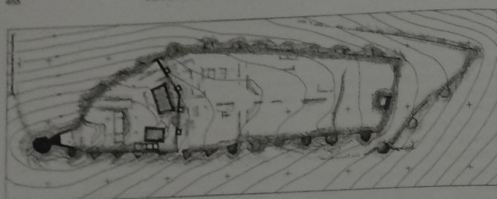
of the Goths as *foederati* in the area in 347/8 and later in 378. They were entrusted with the supply of the army on the Danube, which had been a responsibility of the city in the past. In 448 the city was totally burnt and abandoned to the Huns. When they departed in 451, it was reoccupied by the Byzantines. The invasions devastated the countryside and its economy collapsed. Under these socio-economic conditions, life in the city changed radically. In the second half of the fifth century a new small city Nicopolis. The size of the new city was 5.74 ha – almost a quarter of the area of the Roman city – and was surrounded by massive walls with towers and three gates. The city planning, however, was totally different from that of Roman Nicopolis. There was no agora, no orthogonal planning, and no public buildings except for two churches and two-storey buildings functioning as barracks and for storage. There were also some small workshops. The churches are unpretentiously constructed from modest materials. One, which was large and located on high ground, was probably the episcopal basilica. It was built from reused material, the floor being paved with bricks, and wood being used for the furnishing. The city had become merely an ecclesiastical and military centre, without a civilian population, since there is very little evidence of civilian housing. Some modest structures were identified outside the wall of the new city in abandoned Roman Nicopolis. The economy of the area, infiltrated by barbarians, was broken down, and consequently pottery was imported, in contrast to the locally produced pottery of the past. From the middle of the fifth century the fine ware declines, but there is an increase in amphorae imported from Africa, the Aegean and Gaza that contained goods clearly intended to supply the army. Large-scale crop cultivation and grain production was abandoned in the new city, in favour of a market garden economy, combining crops sown in the spring and a variety of pulses and legumes. The settlement of barbarians in the area interrupted the contacts with, and supply from, the city's hinterland. Obviously cultivation of crops outside the walls was not secure, and so the inhabitants were forced to raise them near the walls and inside the town. Rather than being a population centre now, the new city was a military and ecclesiastical centre, designed by the central government. It was abandoned in the late sixth century or early in the seventh century, when it was destroyed by fire during the new wave of invasions. The latest coin found is of Tiberius II (578–582).²⁶¹⁷

Scupi in the province of Dardania also appears to have been deserted by its inhabitants who moved to nearby forts for protection from invaders at some time before the sixth century. The city was plundered, and the inhabitants transferred their city to one of the refuges of the area, southeast of Roman Scupi on the rock Markovi Kuli, apparently before the earthquake that destroyed it in 518. The new town (Plan 61) was small, 400 m long with three lines of fortifications – also a feature of Justiniana Prima – and two large cisterns on the upper city.²⁶¹⁸ Further to the south, in northern Greece, the establishment of the Ostrogoths in Macedonia in the fifth century forced the inhabitants of Pydna to transfer their bishopric to the site of Louloudies (see supra, p. 389; Plan 41). The form of the new city was a *senapropolis* with four towers at the four corners, protecting the bishop's palace inside with workshops and agricultural installations. Although it seems that many of the inhabitants of Pydna returned to their city after the Ostrogoths left the area, the new city at Louloudies continued to shelter the bishopric and the artisan and agricultural activities connected with the Church. It is obvious that Louloudies met the needs of the time better than the old city at Pydna. Thus during the reign of Justinian it was restored and strengthened.²⁶¹⁹ Outside the city

²⁶¹⁷ Pavlinec, *Nicopolis*, 21–25, 43–48; idem, *One City's Contribution*, 212–213.

²⁶¹⁸ E. Mikulčić, *From the topography of Scupi, Archaeologia Jugoslavica* 14 (1972), 29–35; idem, *Skopje und umgebende Festungen in der Antike und dem Mittelalter* (Skopje 1962); idem, *Nordmakedonien*, 190–192.

²⁶¹⁹ See supra, pp. 388–389.



PLAN 61. Early Byzantine Succi at the site of Markov Kuli, southeast of Roman Succi.

lies the fortified residential district, not yet excavated. South of the tetrapylon by the bank of the river Sourvala, 8 km from Pydna, a new fortification is located, larger and dating to the second half of the sixth century. Its size of 5 ha is a little smaller than that of the new fortified city of Nicopolis in the sixth century. The walls are very strong and the houses inside are densely packed. The settlement had a basilica constructed from high quality materials, whilst a mosaic pavement decorated a major building. The geographical position of the new settlement met the needs that arose during the troubled years of the second half of the sixth century. It was located on the edge of a plateau above the river that at the time flowed below, thus providing contact with the sea. The new fortified city, at a naturally defended location, could give shelter to the inhabitants of the area and offered secure storage for the agricultural produce.²⁰⁷

Justiniana Prima (Čaččin Grad in Serbia), an imperial foundation at the birthplace of Justinian, best represents the new model of Byzantine city (Plan 1). It was built on a naturally defended site on a promontory, surrounded on the two sides by small rivers. It is over 500 m long and at its widest points is 250 m. Its three parts, the acropolis with the bishop's palace, the upper city, with a central circular plaza, churches and the military headquarters, and the lower city, are surrounded by walls. The separation of the city into two or three parts, the upper and lower cities, usually each of them fortified, is typical of the city-kastron. Such a disposition is also attested in the provinces of the East. For example, in the Church of the Lions at Umm al-Rasas, Kastron Mefaa is shown with the upper town fortified, originally the Roman castrum, and the lower town also surrounded by a wall (see supra, p. 129, Fig. 12). The existence of this form of the town is confirmed by archaeological surveys and excavations.²⁰⁸ In the seventh century, this model of an urban centre becomes common, being attested in the literary sources.²⁰⁹

For many cities in the sixth century the impact of the invasions was dramatic. For example, most of the town of Dinogesia in Scythia Minor was destroyed by the Kotrigours in 559. Later the Byzantines restored part of the town, but in a much more modest and poorer fashion: the ruins were leveled and

²⁰⁷ A. G. Poulter, *Field Survey at Lestridies: A New Late Roman Fortification in Pieria, ABSA 93 (1998), 463-513.*

²⁰⁸ P. Piccirilli, *Monasterio*, p. 37 and pl. XXI (p. 36), pl. 337, idem, *Monasterio*, 397-398 and pl. 10; Piccirilli and Alifan, *Umm al-Rasas*, pl. 1, p. 12.

²⁰⁹ V. S. Theodorou, *Συνοικισμός*, c. 150-65-66 (p. 136) *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πύλου γίγνεται τοῦ τε ἀνακτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀνακτοῦ ἑξῆς.*

new houses were built in the northern part of the city where the ground was higher, the quality of the work and the material used indicating the decline of the city. The coins end in 557/8, indicating the date of the destruction of the city, to reappear in the second year of the reign of Justin II (565-578) and continue until Maurice (591/2).²¹⁰ When in the early sixth century the Avars attacked Salona on the Adriatic coast, the city was abandoned and its inhabitants fled to the nearby islands and to the palace of Diocletian at Aspalathos, Spalatum (Spalato, Split), which then became a city. Many of them left for Italy.

The city of Diocletianopolis in Thessaly, built on a large, flat plain by Diocletian near the river Aliakmon, has been identified on the site of Armenochori ca. 4 km from the lake of Castoria. It was deserted after the invasion of the Goths in 473-483. Justinian transferred the city to a new location on an island in the lake of Castoria. The location was secure since access to the island was possible only through a narrow strip of land fifteen feet wide.²¹¹ Demetrias was probably destroyed by the Ostrogoths in 482 and its administrative and ecclesiastical centre was gradually relocated to the fortified hill of ancient Iolkos. The latter had apparently been inhabited previously and its walls were probably restored by Justinian.²¹² In Cappadocia, the *plousion* Mocesius was located on level ground, but lay in a ruinous state. Justinian relocated it to the west of the old fort above a very steep slope, thus making it inaccessible to attacks. There the emperor built churches, hospices and baths, and promoted the new foundation to the rank of metropolis and capital of Cappadocia Tertia.²¹³

In the sixth century, the new function of the city as an ecclesiastical and military centre,²¹⁴ without the defining features of ancient urbanism, namely the agora/forum, colonnaded avenues, spectacle buildings and other public monuments, obsolete by then, was promoted by the state even in areas where the threat of enemy invasions was not obvious. Thus the city type known from various areas of the Balkans, is also found in Asia Minor. Sagalassos in Pisidia was struck by an earthquake in 518 and suffered major destruction. There was some reconstruction work but of lower quality than before, and accompanied by a great deal of encroachment on the city's public space. The earthquake caused severe damage to the six water channels bringing water to the city, which may have been the reason for the relocation of the city to nearby Aglasun, which has many early Byzantine remains. During a major earthquake in the middle of the seventh century, the city of Sagalassos collapsed and was abandoned forever.²¹⁵ In Lycia also, the evolution to the new type of settlement on higher sites, the natural formation of which offered security from invasions, appears in the same period. In Late Antiquity, cities like Xanthos, Pinara, Kadyanda, Sidyma and Telmessos, shrank to the acropolis of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Arykanda, built on a plateau 800 m high, was transferred to the new site of Arif, 2 km away, on a promontory around which a river flows. Arif is a small, fortified settlement 100x250 m (2 1/2 ha), densely built with two-storey houses, a market-place, trapezoidal in shape, and at least three churches (Plan 62). Its site, naturally defended by the formation of the land, offered more security to its inhabitants. Ovacik and Alaklise are other new, small settlements of the area. The fortress of Ovacik, on a steep hilltop, probably replaced a small, late Roman settlement in the valley. Alaklise was a new settlement of the sixth century in a secluded valley, with 30 two-storey houses furnished with wine

²¹⁰ J. Barrois, *L'écroulement de la cité de Dinogesia au VI^e siècle*, *Dacia* 10 (1966), 227-229.

²¹¹ Procopius, *De aedificiis* IV.3.1-4. Th. Papadimitriou, *Ανακτορική ἀποικιστική ἐκστρατεία*, AD 473-474 (1988), 195-218.

²¹² Procopius, *De aedificiis* IV.3.5. Karagözoğlu, Demetrias and Thessos, 214-215.

²¹³ Procopius, *De aedificiis* V.4.15-18.

²¹⁴ Procopius, *De aedificiis* V.4.15-18.

²¹⁵ M. Wankel, *Sagalassos: History and Archaeology*, in *Sagalassos* I, 48-49.



PLAN 62. Anfi in Lycia.

presses.²⁶²⁹ The ecclesiastical and military functions of the Greco-Roman city of Panemoteichos in Pisidia were transferred to a new fort at the site of Oren Tepe, about 1.5 km away (supra, p. 390, Plan 42). The new fort had a basilica church. Since no early Christian remains have been found in Panemoteichos, it is plausible that the new town became the seat of the local bishop and of a garrison.²⁶³⁰

To sum up: the ancient city, no longer supported by institutional traditions, and economic prosperity and an affluent upper class, succumbed to a slow material decline. At the end of the period examined, urban society had begun to be overwhelmingly agrarian. The worldly splendour of the late antique cities gave way to a modest city with a Christian religious dimension and a strong military identity (see supra, p. 390, plan 42). The new military type of city, the city-*kastron*, was born as a result of a coordinated state policy that shaped and gave birth to the mediaeval form of city.

²⁶²⁹ W. W. Wurster, *Survey antiker Städte in Lykien*, in *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris 1980), 29-36; R. M. Harrison, *Upland Settlements in Early Medieval Lycia*, *ibid.*, 109-116; *idem*, Lycia, 232-234; Brandes, *Städte*, 118 ff. Another example offers the small city of Alakida in Caria: V. Ruggieri and F. Giordano, *Una città bizantina sul sito cario di Alakida*, *Rapporto preliminare, OCP* 62 (1996), 53-88.

²⁶³⁰ See supra, p. 390.

CONCLUSIONS

We have focused here on the various aspects of the city in the sixth century A.D., as presented in the literary and historical sources and in the archaeological record. Such a focus, however, naturally requires coverage of what went before and we have therefore extended our survey to sources of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. For the greater part of the book, we have employed the perspective of a historian who attempts to relate the considerable archaeological material available to the written sources.

The city as presented here changes slowly but constantly. This transformation occurs in the context of two major phenomena, namely the great urban development and population increase over the fourth and fifth centuries and, secondly, the celebration of the city in the majority of the literary texts of the time. These two factors, taken together, produce an image of urban prosperity, at odds with the picture that arises from consideration of imperial legislation and of the archaeological record itself.

The idea of the city is one of the dominant concepts in the literature of the period and is to be found in all texts, in the majority of which it is celebrated and praised. Yet the city is not celebrated in the same manner in all texts. Most of our sources employ an antique rhetorical vocabulary to formulate their image of the city, whilst purely Christian sources promote a Christian model of urban life. Nevertheless, through the variety of images employed, the often-contradictory urban motifs and the classical rhetorical clichés, one may discern change and the emergence in the sixth century of a new type of city.

The public space of cities, shaped as it was by splendid ancient monuments, gradually lost its relevance for urban life. The changes wrought by Christianity made obsolete the institutions, such as spectacles, with which the buildings and surrounding urban space were associated. Thus ancient urban buildings were neglected, abandoned, despoiled or encroached upon by private individuals, whilst ownership of ancient public buildings passed to the Church or to private owners, often in the latter case by illegal means. Despite the fluidity that characterizes the period, the trend towards the decline of public space was strong and universal.

Thus the visual aspect of cities changed radically over this period, as they shed their ancient, Greco-Roman appearance. The change in urban life and consequently the articulation of urban space over the sixth century A.D., brought about by the decay of ancient culture and its institutions, was swift and complete.

Two other factors, in addition to Christianity, were responsible for this change. One is the economic stagnation, evident from the sixth century A.D., caused by the decline of long-distance trade throughout the Mediterranean, consequent upon the collapse of the Western Roman empire. The other, related, factor is the economic decline of the urban upper classes. Both factors will have dramatically affected the quality of urban life and both merit further investigation, with input from new discoveries offered by archaeological research. The period of invasions accelerated the process of decline, precipitating latent tendencies to ruralization in general and the habit of inhabitation within the city in particular, changes that were encouraged by the Church.

The new, mediaeval city, the *kastron*, whose architecture emphasized fortification, emerged as a response on the part of the state to invasion. Indeed, the defensive role of the new type of city was the major factor that shaped this new urban model.

The general factors behind the urban transformation of the period were cultural, administrative and socio-economic. When seen as part of a broad, slow evolution, their interconnectedness becomes clear and they can be understood as part of a broad and complex sequence of historical events.

ABBREVIATIONS

I. JOURNALS

- AA: *Anatolian Archaeology*
AAA: *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών*
AAAS: *Les Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes*
AASOR: *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research*
ABSA: *The Annual of the British School at Athens*
AD: *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*
ADAJ: *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AE: *Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς*
AEMT: *Το αρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στη Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη*
AJA: *American Journal of Archaeology*
AnatArch: *Anatolian Archaeology*
AnatSt: *Anatolian Studies*
AnBoll: *Analecta Bollandiana*
AntTard: *Antiquité Tardive*
Anz.: *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*
APF: *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*
APG: *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*
ARDA: *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities (Cyprus) (until 1979), Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities (1980-)*
ASAtene: *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*
AST: *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*
BAR Int. Series: *British Archaeological Reports, International Series*
BASOR: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BASP: *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
Bbulg: *Byzantinobulgarica*
BCH: *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BEO: *Bulletin d'études orientales*
BibArch: *Biblical Archaeologist*
BIFAO: *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BMGS: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
ByzF: *Byzantinische Forschungen*
ByzSl: *Byzantinoslavica*
CahArch: *Cahiers archéologiques fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge*
CorsiRav: *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*
CQ: *The Classical Quarterly*
CRAI: *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*

- Cyriel of Scythopolis: E. Schwartz, *Kyriakos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig 1939); English translation: R. M. Price, *Cyriel of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine* (Kalamazoo, Michigan 1991).
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- Grégoire, *Recueil*: H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1922).
- Hermogenes: H. Rabe, *Hermogenes opera* (Leipzig 1913).
- Hieronymus: A. Colonna, *Hieronymi declamationes et orationes* (Rome 1951).
- Historia Lausica*: C. Butler, *The Lausica History*, 2 vols. in 1 (Cambridge 1898-1904, repr. Hildesheim 1967).
- IGSyr: L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, C. Monodésert, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, vol. I: *Commanie et Cyrénétique* (Paris 1929); vol. II: *Chalcidique et Antiochène* (Paris 1939); vol. III/1: *Région de l'Amman, Antioche* (Paris 1950); vol. III/2: *Antioche (suite), Antiochène* (Paris 1953); vol. IV: *Laodicée, Apamène* (Paris 1955); vol. V: *Émèse* (Paris 1959); vol. XIII/1: M. Sartre, *Bostra* (Paris 1982); XXI/2: *Inscriptions de la Jordanie. Région Centrale (Amman-Hesban-Madaba-Main-Dhiban)* (Paris 1986); XXI/4: M. Sartre, *Petra et la Nabatène méridionale du wadi al-Hasa au golfe de Aqaba* (Paris 1993).
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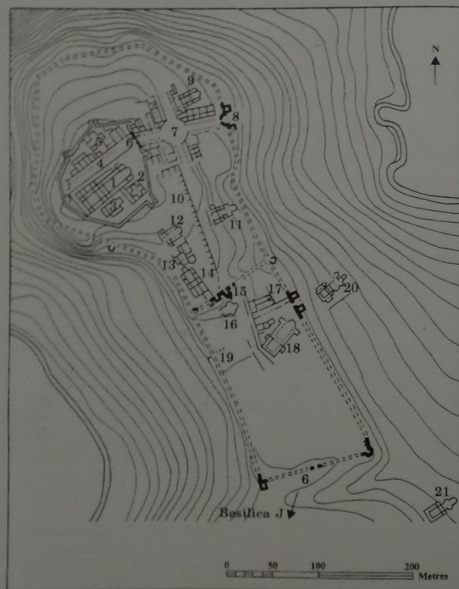
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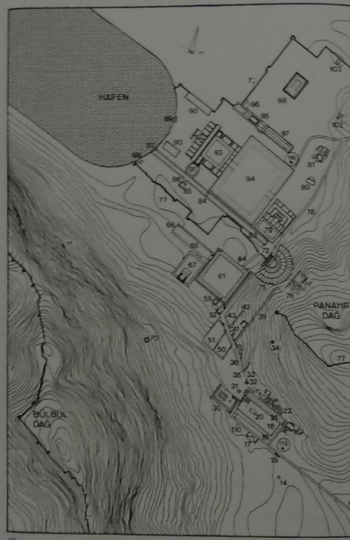
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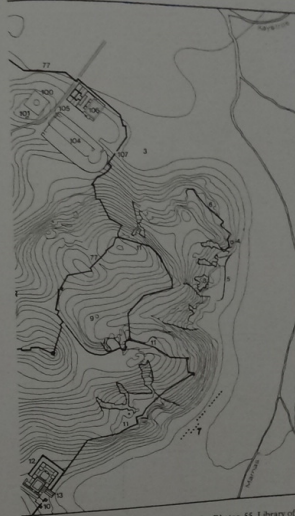
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II. Constantinian Kale.



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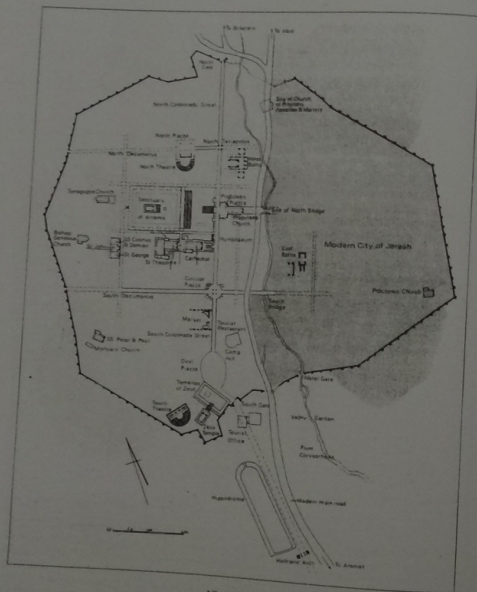
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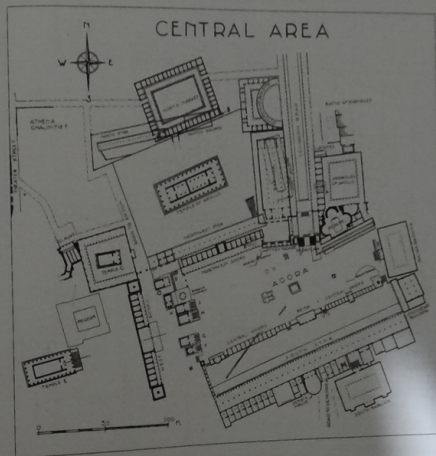
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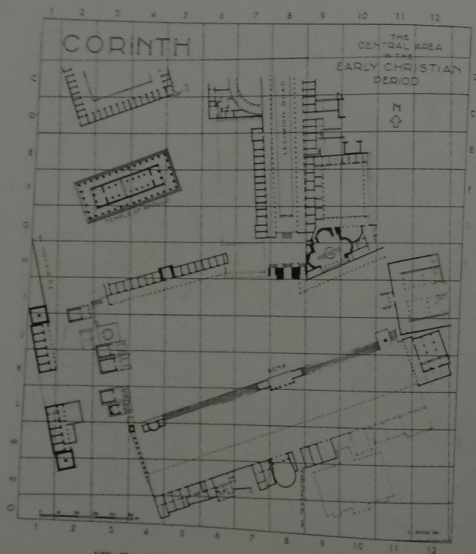
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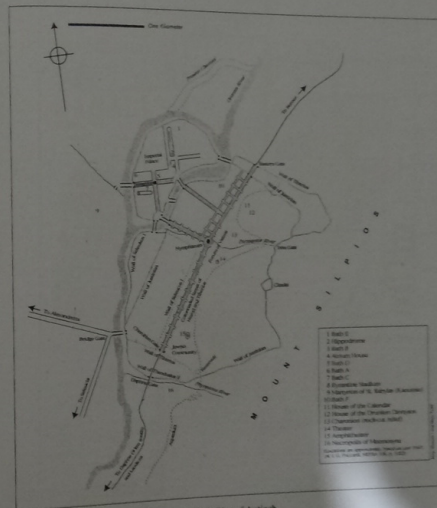
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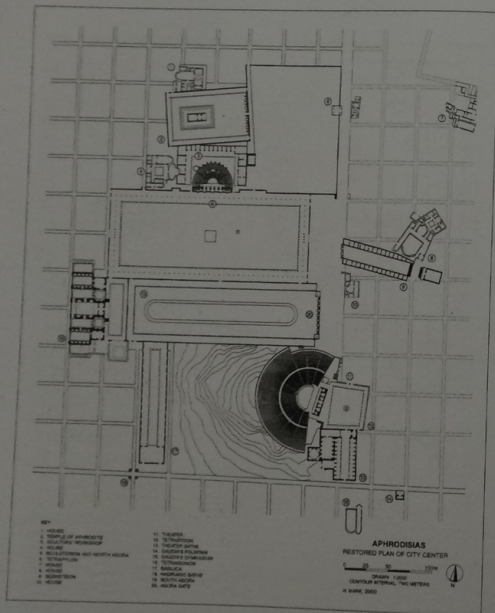
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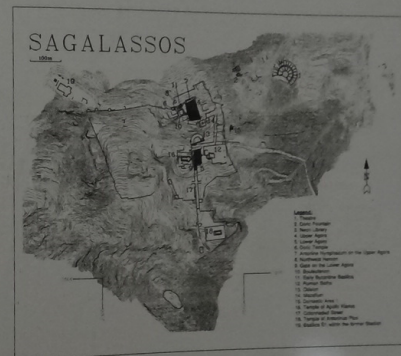
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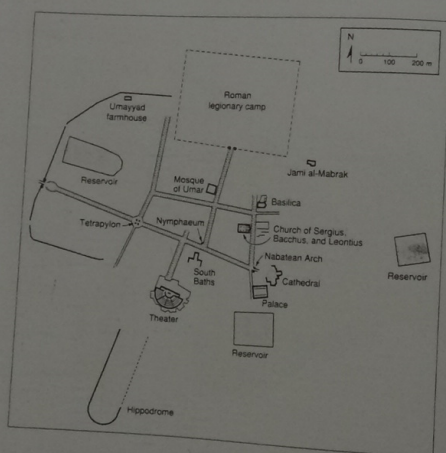
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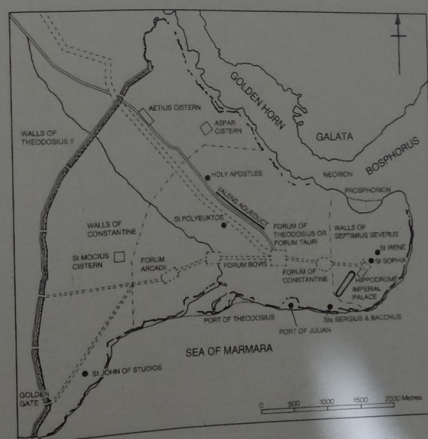
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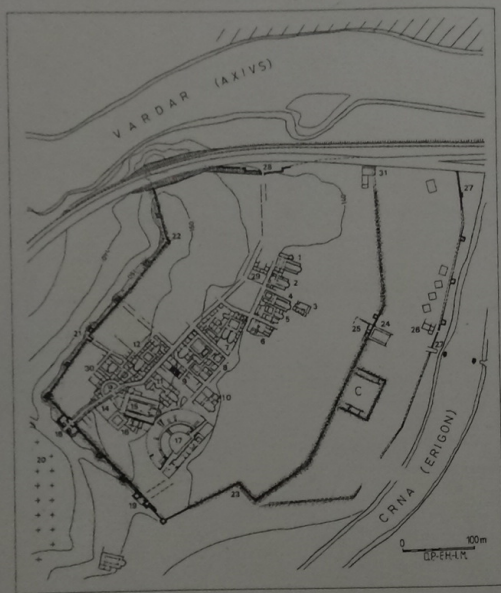
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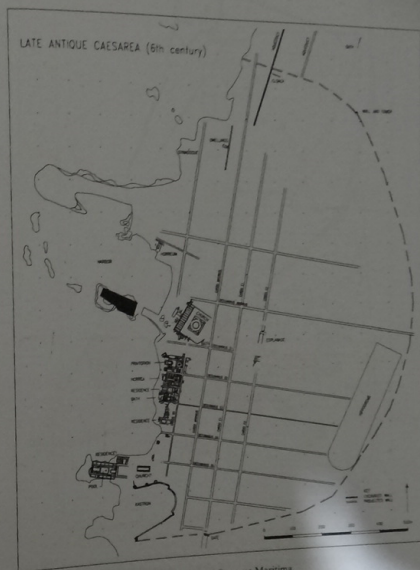
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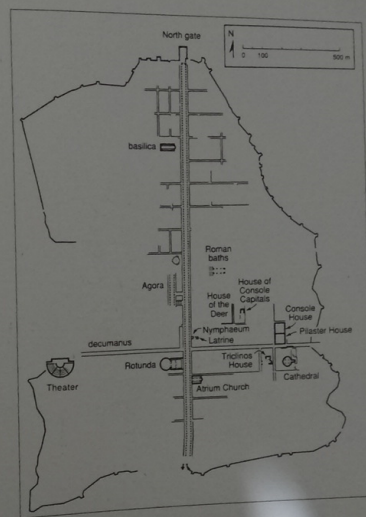
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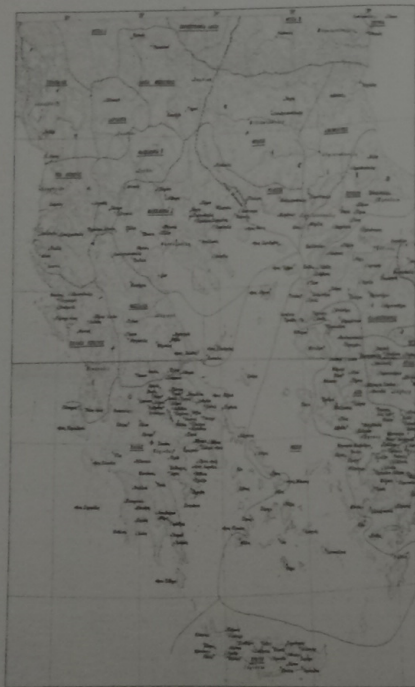
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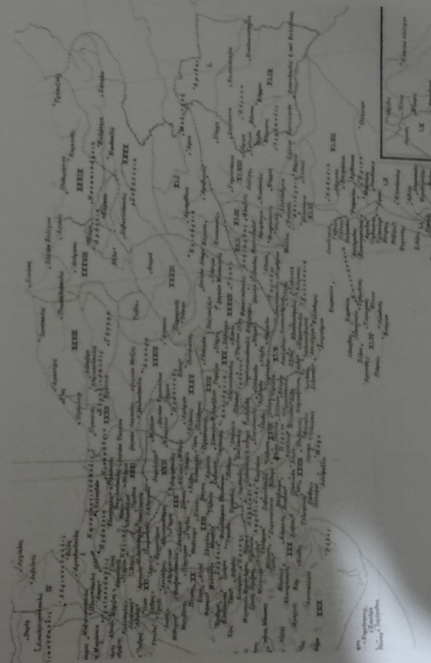
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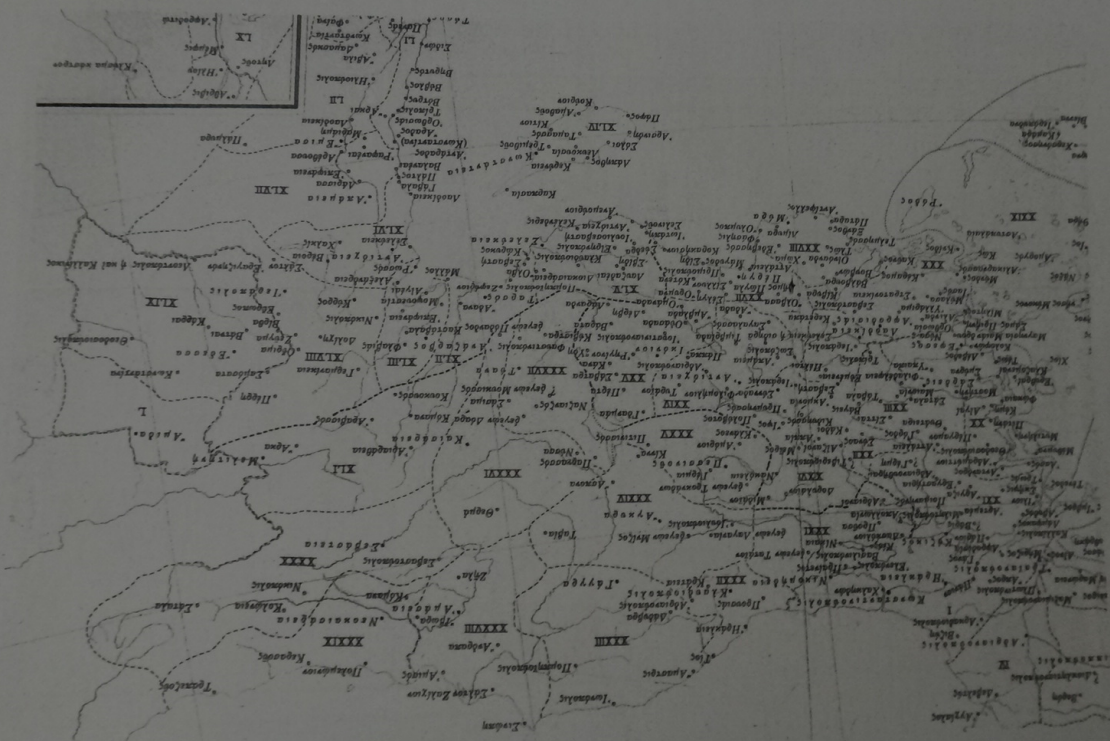


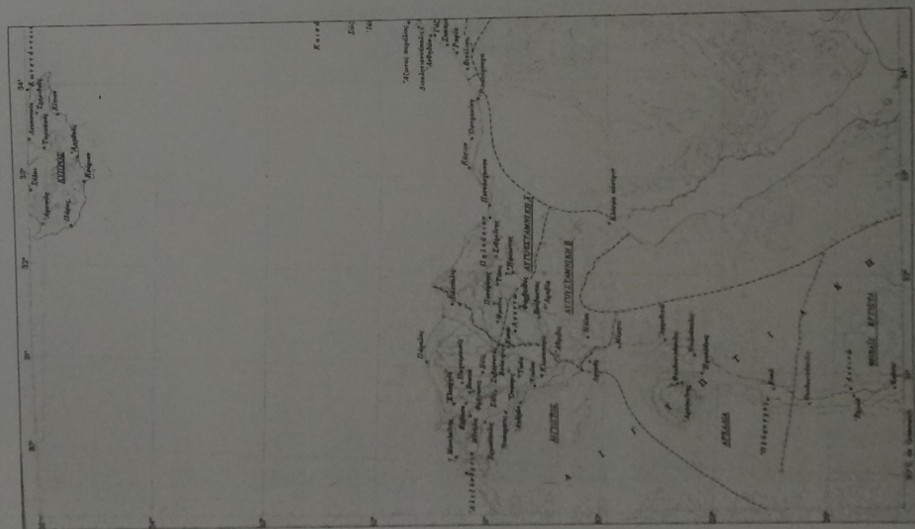
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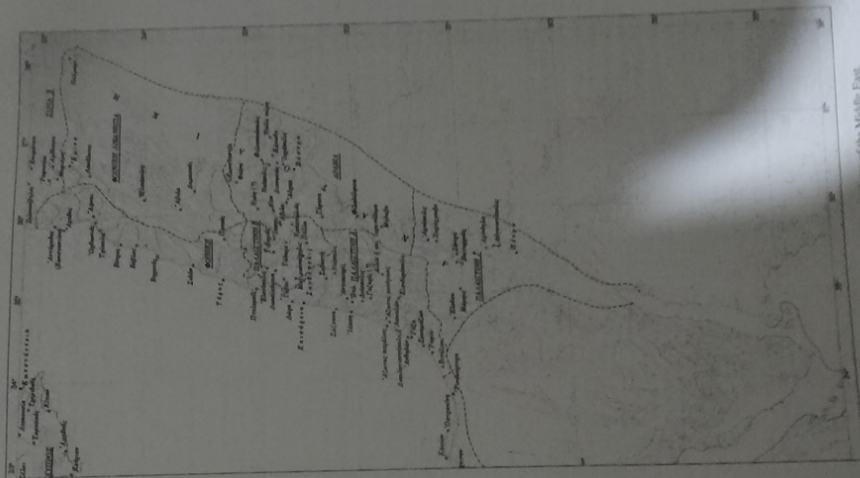
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Map 2. Synkdemnos of Hierocles: The provinces of Asia Minor and Cyprus.





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Map 4. Sketchmap of Herodotus. The provinces of the Middle East.

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